"'I just don't ever use that word': investigating stakeholders' understanding of heritage"

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Abstract:
Understanding the value of heritage sites for diverse stakeholders requires both paying attention to the fields of power in which the sites operate and applying methodologies that are open to user-defined paradigms of value. In the US, official discourse often frames the value of heritage sites associated the deep Native American past as archaeological sites, an interpretation that is consistent with settler colonial ideologies. This narrative generally obfuscates connections between the heritage of the sites and contemporary peoples, and it effaces the history of colonialism and dispossession. A study of stakeholder-defined heritage at two contested sites in the central Midwest revealed both congruencies and conflicts among diverse constituencies' articulations of the sites' value. At Mounds State Park a proposed dam and reservoir "Mounds Lake" project would inundate a large portion of the site. At Strawtown Koteewi, Native American tribes have made repatriation claims under the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).The study also problematized the term "cultural heritage" as it is understood and used by the different constituencies, particularly for culturally and historically affiliated Native Americans. It also highlighted the positions of the constituencies within the broader fields of power implicated in these contested sites.

Keywords: settler colonial, stakeholder, value, repatriation, contested heritage,

Introduction

The impetus for this study began with an incongruous series of recent developments at two heritage sites set against the larger backdrop of issues around democratizing and decolonizing heritage practices (Archibald 1994, Oland, Hart, and Frank, eds.2012, Adair, Filene, and Koloski 2011, Lonetree 2012, Runnel and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2013, Scott 2013). Specifically, multi-year archaeological excavations at one site were put on hold and popular Archaeology Day activities discontinued while at the same time an extensive poured concrete simulation of a dig

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was built, complete with embedded features and tinted soil layers (Fig. 1) [Figure 1 near here]. At a second site, a coalition of public and private entities with interests in spurring economic development in a struggling county proposed damming a river to create an artificial reservoir named 'Mounds Lake' which would inundate a large portion of the property on which the eponymous mounds were located (Fig. 2). [Figure 2 near here] These seeming contradictions suggested that there were potentially divergent interests operating at these sites and that they would be productive for testing varied methodologies to assess the value of heritage sites as defined by diverse groups of stakeholders.[1]

The research design for this project is premised on some key assumptions about the nature of cultural heritage and the work it does in communities. We agree with Rodney Harrison's (2013) position that heritage is a political act, and consequently we are interested in both the fields of power in which heritage operates and the roles of heritage professionals within the terrains of competing interests (Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009). We understand heritage to be inextricable from the power dynamics of 'nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, cultural elitism, Western triumphalism, social exclusion based on class and ethnicity, and the fetishising of expert knowledge' (ACHS 2012). Because heritage is a political act, we do not see a distinction between archaeological remains from the past and living cultures, and we eschew dualities of tangible and intangible, natural and cultural. Rather, heritage is the relationship between past and present. As a result, we find the study of cultural heritage to be a productive way to understand the ideological underpinnings of society, and we pay particular attention when those heritage narratives are resisted or appear to fray. Those fissures are often disputes not only about the allocation of resources or the development of land, but about whose stories are heard and valued, whose authority is recognized, and who is in control (Silverman and Ruggles, eds. 2007, Lynch

and Alberti 2012, Macdonald 2013, Mitterhofer 2013, Rico 2015). Furthermore, contested heritage sites may also reveal fundamentally different paradigms of understanding the relationships of past and present and help us to trace how those respective frameworks of value have been privileged, marginalized, or erased in the history of those sites (Scott 2009, Scott, ed. 2013, Holtorf and Kristensen, eds. 2015).

Background

Description of sites

This investigation of stakeholder-defined value of heritage focused on two sites, Mounds State Park and Strawtown Koteewi Park, each located in central Indiana about an hour north of Indianapolis, Indiana, in the heart of the American Midwest. Both of the sites are government-owned public parks. Mounds State Park, as the name implies, is one of twenty five Indiana state parks, while Strawtown Koteewi is one of eleven parks operated by the Hamilton County Parks and Recreation Department. Mounds State Park was established in 1930 and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places because of its Native American earthworks dating to the late Archaic culture known as the Adena-Hopewell. The largest earthwork, the Great Mound, is believed to have been constructed around 160 B.C. The mounds are thought to have been primarily used as gathering places for religious ceremonies and were constructed to align with astronomical events such as the solstice and equinox. While the 259 acre park contains a nature preserve and a unique fen environment as well as a campground, Nature Center, and miles of trails, the park ‘was dedicated for the purpose of protecting a nationally recognized cultural site’ and the preserve ‘encompasses and buffers the cultural site.’ (Mounds State Park 2011, 1).

Strawtown Koteewi is a much newer park than Mounds, created in 1999 when the county purchased 750 acres from the estate of a local resident. The relatively undeveloped land was known to contain significant archaeological sites, as well as woods, prairies, and 3.25 miles of wetlands along the White River that surrounds three sides of the park. Like Mounds, the park was developed for recreational uses and now contains not only hiking and horseback riding trails, but an archery range, treetop trails, and zip lines. Strawtown's Native American history is also more recent in that, while it contains earlier sites, its most significant occupation is an enclosed village site dating between 1250 A.D. and 1400 A.D.[2] Strawtown Koteewi has been the focus of intensive archaeological investigation through partnerships with local universities and has run a volunteer archaeology program.[3] The Park also has an active public program and maintains a permanent exhibit in the Taylor Center of Natural History.

In addition to their proximity and similar cultural histories, each of the sites has multiple stakeholders, often with conflicting interests. Recreational users such as horseback riders and mountain bikers sometimes intrude on the bird watchers' desires for undisturbed nesting areas and quiet places to observe the wildlife. Those who want to preserve native plants and grasslands have opposed the construction of zip lines and archery ranges espoused by promoters of local tourism. Archaeologists are similarly concerned with the preservation of intact historical resources and with maintaining access to the sites for research purposes. Some Native groups have challenged the right of other Native groups to hold ceremonies at the sites. Those charged with managing the sites must balance these competing interests as well as serve the broader mission of their respective Parks Departments. Added to these issues are the concerns of the Native peoples with cultural affiliations to Indiana who have been displaced and dispersed through two centuries of colonial and settler colonial politics.

One of the reasons we selected these sites for the study is that, in addition to the daily tensions over competing uses of the sites, each one is also embroiled in a contested heritage issue. Mounds State Park has been at the center of a proposal dam and reservoir project that would flood about two thirds of the park property including several Native and settler archaeological sites, as well as potentially endanger the primary mound sites through erosion and threaten its context within the riverine setting. It would also inundate a rare fen environment and dramatically change the habitat along the free flowing river. Strawtown Koteewi has been the subject of claims by the Miami of Oklahoma that archaeologists excavating at the park were not in compliance with the federal National Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Both issues are still being contested as of this publication.

Native history

Archaeological evidence documents that Native Americans have lived in the American Midwest for at least 10,000 years and, based on discoveries elsewhere in North America, probably much longer. Native oral traditions suggests a far greater depth of time. People living in the region adapted to dramatic environmental changes, substantial population growth, and increasing levels of intercultural contact. Early nomadic hunting-gathering groups eventually grew to become complex chiefdoms, and include urban settlements such as Cahokia whose populations exceeded those of European cities from the same time period. By 200 BCE Native Americans were making pottery, raising sizeable burial mounds with elaborate grave offerings, and starting to use cultivars as part of an emergent horticulture. By 600 CE, there was a cultural florescence that included a vast inter-regional trade network extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast. Groups, who might today be identified as tribes, built burial mounds and large, geometric earthworks including those in Mounds State Park. From 1050 CE

until just before European contact, populations grew to a pre-contact peak with subsistence based on intensive horticulture focused on maize, beans, and squash. Ceremonial centers with truncated pyramid temple mounds, plazas, and markets served farms and palisaded settlements. Complex, non-egalitarian social hierarchies developed around a wide range of social roles and craft specialties.

Because cultural affiliation and ideas about property ownership are central to the sites in this study, it is worth elucidating current thinking about the history of cultural identity in the region. The general narrative of cultural change described above only hints at the many localized variations that occurred within the American Midwest. Change happened at different rates depending on population sizes, relative isolation or movement, resource control, and a range of lifeways and ideological patterns. People also travelled or even relocated in response to the impacts of trade, warfare, and climate. Tribal identification or belonging was very likely quite fluid, and territorial boundaries probably reflected that fluidity. Thus, to say with assurance that a particular contemporary tribe is associated with a particular archaeological complex is problematic at best. Archaeologists recognize that most people who lived in a region at the time of contact were likely descended from people who had lived there for a much longer period, perhaps millennia, but archaeologists in the American Midwest rarely wish to make definitive claims about tribal origins from any complex earlier than about 800 CE (for some of these potential affiliations for Indiana see Jones and Johnson 2016: 18-19). There can be little question, however, that the people living in the region at the time of contact and many of their contemporary descendants have a deep, abiding interest in the sites discussed in this paper.

Critical to this study is also history of colonialism and the enduring dynamics of American settler colonial ideologies. The arrival of Europeans came with devastating consequences, particularly

epidemic diseases with mortality rates that frequently exceeded 80 percent. Increasing European and European-American populations pushed more eastern tribes toward the Midwest, increasing levels of conflict between tribes. Eventually Americans came into the region in large numbers, and by the mid-1800s forced the removal of the many tribes that once lived in the region, most of them to Indian Territory in the contemporary state of Oklahoma. Still, even when a tribe was removed to Indian Territory, people from that tribe sometimes remained in place. Cultural affiliation is also complicated by the process of tribal recognition by both states and the federal government. In general terms, Fig. 3 [Figure 3 near here] shows the distribution of the more well-known tribes in what would become Indiana, but locations shifted and groups moved into and through the area, usually becoming associated with particular river drainages. According to Jones and Johnson (2016:16-18) the Miamis, Weas, Piankashaws, Potawatomis, Kickapoos, Mascoutens, Delawares, and Shawnees were present from the late 17th century until the early-to-mid 19th century. The Winnebago and Wyandot were also briefly in the area during the period.

Several of these tribes recognize descent from groups that made and used the earthworks at Mounds State Park with some, such as the Shawnee, still using them for ceremonies. The issue of cultural affiliation is even more complex at Strawtown Koteewi where multiple archaeological sites on the property represent occupation at different times and probably by different groups. By general agreement among the tribes who may have a claim to heritage at the park, the Miami of Oklahoma, who have federal recognition, have agreed to take the lead resolution of repatriation issues and consultation on the development and interpretation of the site. The Miami of Indiana, descendants of individuals who remained in the state at the time the Miami were removed, express interest in Strawtown Koteewi, but because they are not federally recognized they have agreed that their concerns can be represented by the Miami of Oklahoma. Although they

technically reside in Michigan, a large number of citizens of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi live in the northern tier of Indiana counties near Lake Michigan. Late in 2016, the Pokagon Band received federal approval to move former tribally-held lands in the area back into tribal control. They are the only federally recognized tribe in Indiana, but even though they have interests in the broader region, they tend to focus their heritage concerns on the northern part of the state. The Shawnee historically emphasized the Ohio River drainage as the core of their territory, and tend to be concerned primarily with archaeological sites in the southern portion of the state.

Methodology

Our premise of exploring stakeholder-defined value uses R. Edward Freeman's definition of stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by," the organisation's purpose (Freeman 1984: vi). Stakeholder theory has been largely the purview of the business world and promulgated as an alternative of a shareholder capitalism perspective in which value is accounted for only in terms of those positioned to profit from the enterprise. Instead, stakeholder theory expands the framework of analysis to include other kinds of value creation and privileges ideas such as corporate social responsibility and business ethics (Freeman et al. 2010). Conversely, as not-for-profits and governmental heritage organisations face increasing pressures to generate earned revenue, the complex and often competing interests of stakeholders in non-profit contexts are coming to resemble those of for-profit enterprises. The central issues stakeholder theory addresses for corporations -- the creation of value, ethics, and management -- apply to the heritage industry as well (Freeman et al. 2010: 4-5). This study also builds on the recent work on framing and assessing the public value of heritage sites and organizations (Semmel and Bittner 2009, Weinberg and Lewis 2009, Soderland 2010, Fredheim and Khalaf

2016, Scott, ed. 2016). While scholars have explored instrumental, intrinsic, institutional, and use values mapped across individual and community levels (Scott 2007, 2009), this study draws on Jane Legget's approach developed for her work with Maori on the collections of the Canterbury Museum (Legget 2009, 2012). We selected Legget's methodology, which has also been used for a study of the University of Alaska Museum of the North (Conner, Larson, and Diebel 2014), because it relies on stakeholders to generate statements of value and to identify relevant concepts, thereby mapping not just distinct attributes but whole paradigms of value.

To identify the particular stakeholder groups we consulted with staff at the sites and with heritage experts in the area. We also conducted research on the history of the sites and the contemporary debates and controversies about the sites. Based on this research we identified a preliminary list of more than twenty groups that shared an interest in the sites because of cultural affiliation, affinity, proximity, profession, or use. From that preliminary list, we selected twelve groups that represented constituencies who we felt could speak to the range of perspectives about the sites. Specifically, we identified 3 groups of stakeholders unique to each site (park employees, volunteers, and recreational users who included a variety of people including horseback riders, hikers, runners, birders, native plants enthusiasts, etc.) and three groups who had professional or cultural connections to one or both sites (archaeologists, educators, and Native Americans). In addition, for Mounds State Park the stakeholder groups included those who self-identified as opponents or proponents of the dam project, and Strawtown Koteewi's unique stakeholders included the Parks Department board representing governance interests at the county agency level.

Once the stakeholder groups were identified, we issued an open invitation for people who self-identified as belonging to each stakeholder group to participate in a focus group. The

methodology of the focus groups was modeled after Legget's study to elicit meanings and concepts important to the participants, rather than ask them to respond to preordained lists. In each focus group, participants were asked to define and discuss the meaning of the terms heritage, culture, and cultural heritage. The participants then wrote down statements or phrases, articulating what they valued about the site in question, and those statements were shared with the group. They then discussed the various statements and sorted them according to their common elements. For three individuals who were unable to attend the focus group, we replicated the process through one-on-one phone interviews.

Based on the focus group statements, we developed an online survey based on the statements and concepts mapped by the focus groups in order to test them with a larger sample of respondents. The survey was designed using a Q-sort methodology called exploratory factor analysis that helps reveal how people think about a topic by having them rank and sort a series of statements (See Appendix A for a full list of the statements). The survey also asked questions about respondents' familiarity with the parks and their connections to the sites (Fig. 4), and asked them to self-identify from a list of stakeholder groups. We distributed the online survey widely through existing communication networks (the parks' email lists, professional organizations' listservs), through emails gathered for the study, and through postings to social media such as the Facebook pages for the Native American Indian News in Indiana and the Strawtown Koteewi Park fan group. [Figure 4 near here]

Sample description

We received 74 complete surveys (out of 127 started for a 58% completion rate), and it is important to note that the views expressed in the survey are neither monolithic nor generalizable.[4] Respondents, who self-identified their stakeholder groups, did not see their

identities in relation to the sites in discrete terms and often selected multiple affiliations (for example, one could be both a staff member and an archaeologist or a volunteer and a recreational user). We also asked respondents to rank their affiliations, which allowed us to understand where they placed the most weight or strength in terms of their affiliation (Fig. 5). Those with cultural and professional connections to the site were most likely to be singular in their affiliation, while local residents and recreational users were more likely to have multiple affiliations. These multiple affiliations reflect the complexity of relationships with and views of these sites. [Figure 5 near here]

There are also definitive differences in the familiarity of stakeholder groups with each site (Fig.6). The sample size for some of the subgroups (DNR and Hamilton Parks staff, Anderson community members, etc.) limit the statistical analysis that is possible, yet there are certain trends that are suggested in the data. For example, cultural heritage professionals and Native Americans seem to be equally familiar with both sites, while Wildlife enthusiast/naturalists and park volunteers were far more familiar with MSP. In general, primary group affiliation accounts for approximately 30% of the variance for familiarity with SKP ($R^2 = .301$, $F=4.05$, $df=7$, $p<.01$), while primary affiliation was not a significant variable for familiarity with MSP. [Figure 6 near here]

Results

The survey results provide the most cogent findings for understanding stakeholder-defined values of heritage at the two Indiana sites. As noted, the survey was based on the statements gathered during the focus groups about the value of the sites. Survey respondents were asked to sort and rank the statements (Q-Sort methodology). The resulting ranking of concepts indicates what people strongly agree with, what they disagree with, and which values are neutral. The

analysis of the survey responses identified six factors that showed significant patterns of thought.[5] A factor, in the context of factor analysis, is a concept or concourse of thought indicated by similar response patterns that are associated with a variable that is not directly measured. The statements with the highest and lowest scores for each factor sort were qualitatively analyzed to articulate the common element or aspect view of each factor. We also looked at the correlations between each factor and the self-identified stakeholder affiliation of the respondents (Table 1).

The survey results were both expected and unexpected. Unsurprisingly, the top six factors (or concepts) reflected views we heard in the focus groups. Factor 1 statements focus on the sacredness of the sites and their value as Native American places for their stories, burials, and ritual. Factor 1 is the most common and strongest factor, and views of this factor alone account for 33.5% of all variance in how statements are sorted by all respondents. Factor 2 statements value the sites as resources for general recreation, connection with nature, and appreciation of nature's beauty. Factor 3 statements value the research potential of the sites and their contributions to our knowledge of the past through preservation and public education. The remaining Factors (4-6), while less common and weaker in strength, are still significant. The statements associated with Factor 4 value the sites as places of learning, but not for connecting history and nature. It is worth noting that while this factor was significant for a small group of respondents, other survey participants strongly disagreed with it. Factor 5 documents a set of views that resonate with the Factor 2's emphasis on recreational use, but did not value the sites as places to make connections between past and present or between natural and cultural heritage. Factor 5 is interesting in that it seems to privilege use value over the sites' significance as cultural resources or the value of those resources for education and other intangible benefits that

might be derived from their history. As with Factor 4, a significant number of respondents also disagreed with it. Factor 6, while the weakest in the set of concourses of thought, is significant in that it clearly articulates a singular view of the value of the sites as places of ecology and archaeological study, with an emphasis on the preservation, research, and educational value of the Native American cultural resources.

The survey results were also unsurprising in that when we correlated the factors with the self-identified stakeholder groups, they aligned largely as we anticipated given the views expressed in interviews and focus groups (Table 1). Native Americans were the main group who valued the sites as sacred places for burial and ritual, although others, including some cultural heritage professionals, held this view as well. Recreational users valued the sites as a place to connect with nature, while cultural heritage professionals appreciated the research and educational value of the sites. While these findings reinforced impressions from the focus groups, they also provided valuable quantitative confirmations of the broader consensus about the value of the sites.

The results became even more interesting when we started looking at which statements the survey respondents ranked farthest from their views (Table 1), in other words those they strongly disagreed with. The data suggest that the sites' primary value for recreation was the most important aspect for the Factor 2 and 5 groups, comprised mostly of recreational users, but it was the farthest or least valued aspect for Native Americans and cultural heritage professionals in Factors 1, 3, 6. Conversely, the value of the sites as places of meaning, identity, and education for Factor 1 and 3 groups were the farthest values for Factor 2, 5, and 6. Factor 5 statements, while similar to Factor 2, reveal even more starkly the contrast between public and recreational values on the one hand, and educational or other benefits that might accrue from the cultural

resources at the sites. Specifically, the least valued statements articulate the connection between history and nature and between past and present. The inclusion of the last statement "Sites hold Indiana's memories" in the "closest" category creates some ambiguity in a set of statements that otherwise privileges the present use of the sites, but the interpretation of "Indiana" may reflect the sense that visiting the sites over the years has become its own form of heritage practice, a sentiment expressed in some of the focus groups, particularly by the Mounds State Park recreational users and volunteers, some of whom have deep family connections to the sites during its 87 year history as a park. Factor 6 represents a small, but significant view in that the sites' value for ecology, archeological study, and for preserving Native American mounds stood in direct contrast to the public, multivalent, and recreational values of the sites. These findings provided clear and convincing evidence for the reasons behind contested heritage. Not only were the different stakeholder groups' paradigms of value distinct, but they were in direct opposition regarding what they valued the most and the least about the sites. [Table 1 near here]

As one might expect, there was a correlation among factors in the sample (Table 2). Specifically, Factors 1, 3, and 6, are positively correlated at approximately the same strength. Simplistically phrased, when respondents align with Factor 1 they also significantly agree with Factors 3 and 6. There is also a significant positive correlation is found between Factor 4 and Factor 5. Conversely, Factors 1 and 5 are negatively correlated with each other, meaning that the people articulating values aligned with Factor 1 are likely to strongly disagree with Factor 5. Factors 5 and 6 are similarly negatively correlated. Of note is the finding that Factor 2 does not appear to be strongly correlated with any other factor. [Table 2 near here]

Examining the data more deeply reveals the complex and nuanced relationships among the seemingly diametrically opposed stakeholder-defined frameworks of value. Not only are the

implications of the congruence and divergence among the respective paradigms of value at these heritage sites important for potential dialogue about the sites, but they illuminate the fields of power in which the sites operate and raise issues for critical heritage sites more broadly.

After completing the Q-sort of statements, survey respondents were asked to further refine their views. The three closest and three farthest statements each respondent selected (i.e., the statements they felt most strongly about, positively and negatively) were displayed. Each of those statements was paired with an opposing statement and randomly placed on the left or right side of a six-point spectrum. Respondents were then asked, "Thinking about Strawtown Koteewi Park and Mounds State Park, which statement describes your values more? For each pair of statements, select a point. The stronger you feel about a statement, the closer you should place your point to that statement." Those pairs with at least 10% of the responses were examined. The stronger respondents felt about a statement, the closer the mean to the extremes (i.e., 1 or 6). The statements that had the least ambiguity for respondents (Fig. 7) document the most strongly held positions. [Figure 7 near here].

Equally interesting to the strongly held views are the statements that showed more variance (Fig. 8). For these statements, the means were not only closer to the middle of the scale; the responses also more varied. In other words, this is not a case of one group rating a statement the absolute strongest and another rating it the absolute weakest – shades of gray were present. This suggests that the respondents viewed these statements with nuance and not just as binary choices. This finding is further supported by the fact that two thirds of respondents indicated that they did not feel neutral even with the statements that remained (i.e. those not represented in their top six statements).[6] [Figure 8 near here]

Respondents' familiarity with the two sites mapped across the six factors (Table 3) is also revealing. Mounds State Park (MSP), which is the older, more established park, is better known on the whole, but most people were fairly familiar with both sites. The only two factors for which the respondents are more familiar with Strawtown than Mounds (Factors 3 and 6) are worth noting. Both of these factors were primarily associated with archaeologists and other heritage professionals. In the archaeological community, Strawtown Koteewi is seen as a highly significant site for understanding the complex lifeways and long-term occupation of a Woodland village site. It is unusual both in its preservation and its protected status on public land, Furthermore, after many decades in which the private land owner refused to permit any archaeological testing, it was the focus of intensive research-driven excavations for at least a decade. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that archaeologists prize it as a unique site for producing knowledge about the Native past and for education. [Table 3 near here]

Given this importance of Strawtown Koteewi among archaeological circles, it is significant to note that Factor 2 respondents – primarily recreational users – were quite familiar with Mounds State Park (4.5 on a scale of 1-5) but were far less knowledgeable about Strawtown Koteewi (1.75). There was also a significant percentage of respondents (35%) who had never been to Strawtown Koteewi versus only 8% who had never been to Mounds State Park (Figure 9). This frame of reference is important because even though the two sites are 20 miles apart and both have significant Native American earthworks, there is little public awareness of the human remains associated with the sites. Instead, Mounds State Park is seen primarily as ceremonial site. Although six burials have been identified there, they were excavated in the late 1960s and are not a prominent part of the public interpretation of the site.[7] Strawtown Koteewi, by contrast, was an intensively occupied village with multiple burials. While human remains have been

excavated there over the past ten years, few people outside of the archaeology profession and Native American communities are aware of the presence of human remains at the site.[8] [Figure 9 near here] The relative invisibility of burials at the site for most of the casual users is significant because it is explicitly the presence of human remains and their recovery in archaeological excavations that is so problematic for many Native Americans.

Furthermore, few people in the general population are aware of the cultural significance of the presence of ancestors for Native American people today, let alone knowledgeable about the intricacies of federal NAPGRA legislation. The contour maps, plan views, and cross-sections that inform archaeological understandings of the site are circulated in technical reports and conference presentations, and debates about repatriation take place largely within the closed circles of heritage professionals and Native consultation. While Native people participating in this study expressed interest in the information archaeology could produce and the understanding it could offer of Native history, they were appalled by what they perceived as the lack of sensitivity toward human remains at the site. Yet their outrage and pain of learning that children helped to screen dirt that potentially contained the remains of ancestors is heard only within Native communities and closed NAGPRA consultation sessions. For recreational users, the parks are nature preserves with attractive trails and perhaps some curious mounds that are remnants of long-past people. Even official records reveal the disconnection with contemporary Native communities. For example, the "Phase I Feasibility Study" conducted by Anderson Corporation for Economic Development for the proposed dam and reservoir project noted in their summation of impacted historic properties and archaeological resources: 'The Adena first inhabited the site around 1,000 B.C. and built several of the mounds. Later cultures, such as the Hopewell, used the earthworks for burial purposes in addition to using them for gathering places for religious

ceremonies' and then recommended that in addition to an archaeological survey 'it will also be imperative that outreach include the tribes referenced above as their official approval may be required' (Anderson Corporation 2011: 10-11).

Significance of the findings for stakeholder-defined values of heritage

This case study of two sites in central Indiana has a number of implications for revealing the fields of power in which these sites operate and for understanding the significance of stakeholder-defined values of heritage sites more broadly. First, the findings reflect the fundamental structures of power and ideology that frame the interpretation of Indigenous history and cultural heritage in much of the United States. The history of Native peoples at the sites are subsumed within a broader settler colonial narrative that objectifies the past into material remains essentialized as archaeological or cultural heritage resources. The discourse around these resources is informed by the technologies, languages, and epistemologies of the archaeological discipline, and reified through its circulation within the largely closed networks of professional communication and its presentation in interpretive panels at the sites. Although Native interpreters, particularly at Strawtown Koteewi, help to mediate this codification of Native history as archaeology, for the most part the official interpretation at the sites perpetuates the nineteenth-century paradigm of presenting Indigenous history as natural history (Hill 2000, Karp and Wilson 1996, Larson 2015, Lonetree 2012, Peterson, Allen, and Hamby, eds. 2008). This approach is exemplified by the fact that the interpretive centers at parks are called the 'Taylor Center of Natural History' and the 'Nature Center'. Their exhibits tend to objectify and essentialize the Native past as a series of material patterns represented through artifacts, organized into chronologies, and distanced from the present-day cultures and concerns of Native peoples.[9] Furthermore, in addition to framing Native history through chronologies and

typologies, the static displays echo typical settler colonial tropes by glossing over the violence and dispossession of colonialism and ignoring the contemporary consequences of dispossession for Native communities.

Like the exhibits' epistemologies for framing Native history as archaeology and the tropes for interpreting it in natural history museum idioms, the focus group and survey data provide evidence of the fundamental ideologies informing perceptions of the value of the two sites. They also reveal the divergence between the groups (including archaeologists, heritage professionals, and recreational users) who view sites as property or physical remains to be enjoyed, studied, and protected and the Native Americans who relate to the sites with a very different way. For many Native people, the sites are significant because they are seen as their ancestral home, the burial places of their ancestors imbued with spiritual significance and experienced through personal connections to earth, creator, and ancestors. The value of the sites is not defined merely by their corporeal existence, although the human remains are hugely important, but as places of relationships. The most revealing articulation of these contrasting paradigms of value came in a conversation with a Native American during the first phase of the research. When asked in an interview what heritage means, he responded 'I don't really use the word heritage… [I] Don't ever use the term – doesn't inform my thought process. If I had to give a stereotypical answer, I guess I would say the customs of a people, but I just don't ever use that word.'

After we concluded the interview, he wrote a follow up email.

> I just thought of why I don't use 'heritage.' To me, it connotes a disconnect from a particular group's culture. If one labels things as 'heritage', it makes those things abstract and easier to write off as novelty. At least in regards to Native American culture. When people talk about Native American heritage it's usually regarded as a spectacle,

> something to talk about for nostalgic reasons. But, that's no one particular person's fault, it's unfortunately just the way that we have been represented. Where some people say 'heritage,' I would say 'way of life.' The ancestors who made those sites still live though us today, and we gain strength through that.

The implications of this study echo the findings of other critical heritage studies seeking to map the fields of power in which heritage works, particularly in settler colonial societies. The findings not only trace the similarities and contrasts of what people value about the sites, but it also opens the conversation to a critique of the notion of cultural heritage as a material resource to be managed and interpreted (Harris 2005, Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006, Smith 2006: 276-298). The Native American respondent's comments reject the potentially objectifying import of the term cultural heritage and instead articulate a paradigm predicated on relationships and the continuity of past and present. Whereas the non-Native respondents expressed the value of the sites in a variety of ways, they all conceived of the sties as property – something potentially to be owned, used, developed, and managed.

The findings also suggest strategies that might to counter the longstanding hegemony of official heritage discourses, such as those evident in the Strawtown Koteewi and Mounds State Park exhibits. Calls to democratize and to decolonize museum practices by embracing a wider range of voices including indigenous perspectives (Hakiwai 2005, Lonetree 2012, Runnel and Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt 2014, Onciul, 2015,) could inform programming at the sites. For example, in addition to the current practice of inviting Native people to demonstrate traditional arts and foodways, site managers might host dialogue-based programs that address the histories of displacement and diaspora of Native peoples in Indiana, discuss the divergent views of the value of the sites, explore the significance of the narratives as they are currently being presented,

and help visitors make connections between the rich record of the Native past and contemporary Native communities.

Although statements from many of the focus group participants recognized the importance of the sites to contemporary tribal communities, in the survey responses those statements resonated as the highest priority largely only within Native American respondents and some heritage professionals. That lack of public understanding of those connections and the controversies associated with the sites create an opportunity to go beyond the officially mandated consultation regarding the handling and repatriation of excavated cultural property and to embrace more collaborative, inclusive practices. Since the enactment of NAGPRA, there has been substantial growth in what has been labelled Indigenous Archaeology, which emphasizes collaboration between tribal members and archaeologists and is guided by the research questions or concerns of Indigenous people (Watkins 2000, Smith and Wobst, eds. 2005, Nicholas 2014). Methodologies and perspectives on interpretation are often negotiated at the time projects are started, but continually adjusted as needed. Many projects employ community-based participatory research (Atalay 2012), and several have produced excellent jointly managed heritage programs that might be possible models for sites like Mounds State Park and especially at Strawtown Koteewi Park. These multivalent perspectives could be incorporated into the interpretation at the sites, potentially even creating safe spaces for visitor responses or dialogue-based programs.

This study identifies both the shared interests and the inherent contradictions in the value paradigms of key stakeholders. A contextual analysis of the politics of heritage similarly points to contested terrain, both physically and ideologically. And yet, there is evidence of a potentially productive space in the midst of these polarized views. The Q-Sort analysis not only identifies

extremes, but also measures the shades of grey in between, that is, those statements to which respondents neither strongly agree nor disagree. We found that in addition to the values held most closely and those ranked farthest, most people also embraced in neutral terms the underlying themes of the sites as places where people connect with nature now and in the past, where people learn about other ways of life, and where people understand connections. That common middle ground may be a place to start conversations.

Mapping the paradigms of stakeholder-defined value also raises questions for government owned and managed sites that are held accountable to both the missions of the sites and the tax-funded premise of contributing to their citizens' quality of life. Adjudicating among conflicting criteria for that quality – sacred sites to be honored, economic engines to be invested in, ecological and cultural resources to be studied, preserved, and interpreted, recreational spaces to be developed -- requires not merely understanding the range of audiences, interests, and values, but a constant negotiation of priorities. In rare instances legislation such as NAPGPRA guides those decisions, but a thousand smaller choices framed by the policies of governmental agencies build the political and ideological structures that ultimately mandate whose interests are privileged. Some National Park Service and other government-owned sites in the US have recognized the need to transform the ways they interpret the past, but many more are constrained by 'bureaucratic inertias, entrenched patterns of insularity, and reliance on top-down authority' (Shea, Zujewski, and Parker 2016:129). Contestation and controversy can be a constructive force in disrupting the status quo. The clear evidence of the fissures and frictions of site values could be a catalyst for those responsible for the sites' management and governance to engage in thinking about the role that heritage can plan in a democratic, pluralistic society (Zimmerman 2013).

Conclusion

The opportunity at Strawtown Koteewi and Mounds State Park, as in contested heritage sites around the globe, is to name the ways in which the uses of the sites are complicit in the histories of colonialism and politics of heritage. It is also an opportunity to invite people into conversation about how these sites could be used and interpreted in ways that respect and acknowledge their diverse values and range of meanings to multiple communities. Throughout the study, it was evident that people in all of the stakeholder groups care deeply about these sites. Most also expressed an openness to learning about the sites and about other stakeholders' perspectives. Perhaps the most striking observation we can take away from this study is the contrast between the complex but largely rigid frames of value evident in the survey results and the much more dynamic, generous, and fluid discussions about meaning and value in the focus group conversations. While such conversations are time consuming and can be uncomfortable, the study affirmed the power of dialogue to provoke thoughtful questions, expand understanding, and create empathy.

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[1] This project was supported by Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts & Humanities Program, a program of the Office of the Vice President for Research funded by the Office of the President. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid is the PI. Co-PIs Elee Wood and Jeremy Foutz, principal at STEAM Workgroup, helped to develop the research methodology. Wood facilitated the focus group sessions. Collaborator Larry Zimmerman served as consultant for work with Native American communities. Foutz designed and administered the survey and conducted the statistical analysis of these data. Emma Marston was a graduate research assistant for the first six months of the project. A preliminary version of this analysis was presented by Elizabeth Kryder-Reid at the ACHS Conference in Montreal in June, 2016, in the session "'For people then and for people now': approaches to heritage and shared authority." All four authors collaborated on writing this article. We greatly appreciate the assistance of the staff at MSP and SKP, particularly Ted Tapp and Christy Brocken, for generously sharing documents, hosting the focus groups, helping disseminate information and recruit participants, and for their willingness to investigate stakeholder-defined values of the sites they administer.

[2] A period known as the Oliver Phase of the Middle Woodland.

[3] Archaeological investigations included a three year National Science Foundation funded 'Research Experience for Undergraduates (REU)' with Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne (IPFW).

[4] Ignoring incomplete surveys, the remaining data were screened for univariate outliers. There were 16 out-of-range values due to participant and/or platform error(s), but these values did not impact the analysis because it related to an element that is not included in the methodology - the statement ranking of statements within each of group (i.e., 'closest/farthest from my values').
[5] For this study, we determined that a scree plot was the most reliable method for discovering the appropriate number of factors to extract. These six factors explain 63% of all variance in sorting the statements.
[6] In the Q-sort methodology, the statements that remain after the sorting process should be primarily statements for which the respondents have neutral feelings. However, since the statements derived from focus groups, it was expected that some respondents would not be ambivalent about even these left over statements.
[7] Six burials were excavated at Mounds in 1968 and 1969. Of those, four appear to be Late Woodland intrusive burials into the mounds, and two date to the construction of the Great Mound. 'Two burials had been placed on the floor of the tomb, and associated with them were some fragments of mica and a platform pipe. The burials consisted of a redeposited cremation and a secondary or 'bundle' burial, the latter of which was an adult male.' (Vickery 1969: 78). The excavations at Mounds State Park were directed by Claude F. White in 1968 and by Kent D. Vickery in 1969. The project was financed by the Indiana Department of Natural Resources with the cooperation of the Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, Indiana University. (Cochran and McCord, 2001).
[8] This awareness may be changing as an article in the *Indianapolis Star* titled "How a Native American burial site was desecrated in Hamilton County" was published November 5, 2016 detailed the grievances of Native American groups regarding the excavation and treatment of human remains at Strawtown (Sikich 2016).
[9] The framing of the site's significance within 'nature' is consistent with the founding of the parks by Richard Lieber in 1916 in honor of the state's Centennial. It is also consistent with the colonialist trope of seeing Native Americans as part of nature rather than culture, the trope with a history that goes back to at least Lewis and Clark.

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Appendix A: List of Statements Generated by Focus Groups and Sorted by Survey Respondents

Statement #	Statement
1	They are sites of heritage for people then and people now.
2	They provide opportunities to connect with history and nature.
3	They are places to experience the connection between past and present.
4	They provide a connection to past cultures.
5	The mounds help us learn about past peoples who have lived here.
6	We can learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.
7	They help us to gain greater knowledge of all of us.
8	They educate the public.
9	They are Native American sacred sites.
10	They are important for the preservation and protection of ancestral burials.
11	They are important to Native American people as sacred sites.
12	The cultural and natural heritage are both present.
13	The sites blend history and nature.
14	The sites have a long history of human activity and diverse natural ecosystems.
15	Without them we would lose our past history and our knowledge of the area.
16	This land is an important part of the history of the area.
17	The sites represent a small microcosm of the history of settling North America.
18	They educate people that there are still Native Americans here.
19	It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.
20	They offer many opportunities for reconnection with nature
21	They have unique natural resources in the area
22	They are places where people can take in the natural beauty of the trails.
23	They are public land.
24	They are shared spaces for the public.
25	They are public resources made available to the community.
26	The land has been used by a diversity of cultures.
27	The sites hold Indiana's memories.
28	The sites mean many things to many people.
29	They have many opportunities for recreation.

30	People can enjoy walking where others have walked for generations.
31	They provide a feeling of leisure, a place to get away.
32	They provide opportunities for people to do things they don't normally do.
33	The sites give us a continuous story about the area and its people.
34	They are places for Native Americans to tell their story.
35	They tell the story of many different cultures.
36	The sites' archaeological remains hold untold stories of life in Central Indiana.

Appendix B: Statements by Factor Analysis

Factor 1			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
11	They are important to Native American people as sacred sites.	1.95	5
19	It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.	1.911	4
10	They are important for the preservation and protection of ancestral burials.	1.788	4
9	They are Native American sacred sites.	1.677	3
18	They educate people that there are still Native Americans here.	1.671	3
34	They are places for Native Americans to tell their story.	1.491	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***		
24	They are shared spaces for the public.	-1.064	-3
21	They have unique natural resources in the area	-1.118	-3
25	They are public resources made available to the community.	-1.151	-3
29	They have many opportunities for recreation.	-1.307	-4
31	They provide a feeling of leisure, a place to get away.	-1.439	-4
23	They are public land.	-1.631	-5
Factor 2			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
21	They have unique natural resources in the area	1.977	5
20	They offer many opportunities for reconnection with nature	1.967	4
22	They are places where people can take in the natural beauty of the trails.	1.462	4
25	They are public resources made available to the community.	1.349	3
2	They provide opportunities to connect with history and nature.	1.344	3
14	The sites have a long history of human activity and diverse natural ecosystems.	1.163	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***		

4	They provide a connection to past cultures.	-1.004	-3
3	They are places to experience the connection between past and present.	-1.136	-3
28	The sites mean many things to many people.	-1.141	-3
7	They help us to gain greater knowledge of all of us.	-1.509	-4
6	We can learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.	-1.683	-4
35	They tell the story of many different cultures.	-1.698	-5
Factor 3			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
Statement #	Statement	Z-score	Factor score
36	The sites' archaeological remains hold untold stories of life in Central Indiana.	2.138	5
25	They are public resources made available to the community.	1.224	4
19	It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.	1.070	4
7	They help us to gain greater knowledge of all of us.	1.025	3
8	They educate the public.	0.843	3
1	They are sites of heritage for people then and people now.	0.828	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
29	They have many opportunities for recreation.	-1.174	-3
20	They offer many opportunities for reconnection with nature	-1.526	-3
30	People can enjoy walking where others have walked for generations.	-1.625	-3
27	The sites hold Indiana's memories.	-1.731	-4
22	They are places where people can take in the natural beauty of the trails.	-2.058	-4
31	They provide a feeling of leisure, a place to get away.	-2.492	-5
Factor 4			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
6	We can learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.	2.019	5
10	They are important for the preservation and protection of ancestral burials.	1.694	4
7	They help us to gain greater knowledge of all of us.	1.509	4
28	The sites mean many things to many people.	1.490	3
21	They have unique natural resources in the area	1.143	3
17	The sites represent a small microcosm of the history of settling North America.	1.078	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
4	They provide a connection to past cultures.	-0.896	-3

19	It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.	-1.135	-3
2	They provide opportunities to connect with history and nature.	-1.191	-3
5	The mounds help us learn about past peoples who have lived here.	-1.331	-4
16	This land is an important part of the history of the area.	-1.447	-4
13	The sites blend history and nature.	-2.340	-5
Factor 5			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
23	They are public land.	1.958	5
32	They provide opportunities for people to do things they don't normally do.	1.511	4
29	They have many opportunities for recreation.	1.478	4
24	They are shared spaces for the public.	1.389	3
25	They are public resources made available to the community.	1.267	3
27	The sites hold Indiana's memories.	1.264	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
6	We can learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.	-1.082	-3
3	They are places to experience the connection between past and present.	-1.270	-3
12	The cultural and natural heritage are both present.	-1.293	-3
8	They educate the public.	-1.419	-4
14	The sites have a long history of human activity and diverse natural ecosystems.	-1.987	-4
2	They provide opportunities to connect with history and nature.	-2.241	-5
Factor 6			
Statement #	***Statement Closest to Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
17	The sites represent a small microcosm of the history of settling North America.	2.819	5
36	The sites' archaeological remains hold untold stories of life in Central Indiana.	1.812	4
14	The sites have a long history of human activity and diverse natural ecosystems.	1.323	4
33	The sites give us a continuous story about the area and its people.	1.173	3
10	They are important for the preservation and protection of ancestral burials.	1.169	3
19	It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.	0.903	3
Statement #	***Statement Farthest from Values***	***Z-score***	***Factor score***
7	They help us to gain greater knowledge of all of us.	-0.964	-3

29	They have many opportunities for recreation.	-1.048	-3
32	They provide opportunities for people to do things they don't normally do.	-1.104	-3
28	The sites mean many things to many people.	-1.366	-4
18	They educate people that there are still Native Americans here.	-1.443	-4
24	They are shared spaces for the public.	-2.124	-5

Figure and table list with captions

Figure 1. Simulated archaeological excavation at Strawtown Koteewi, Hamilton County, Indiana. Photo by E. Kryder-Reid.

Figure 2. View of the circular “great mound” at Mounds State Park, Anderson, Indiana. Photo by E. Kryder-Reid.

Figure 3. General historical tribal distributions in Indiana. (Early Peoples of Indiana, Indiana Department of Natural Resources),

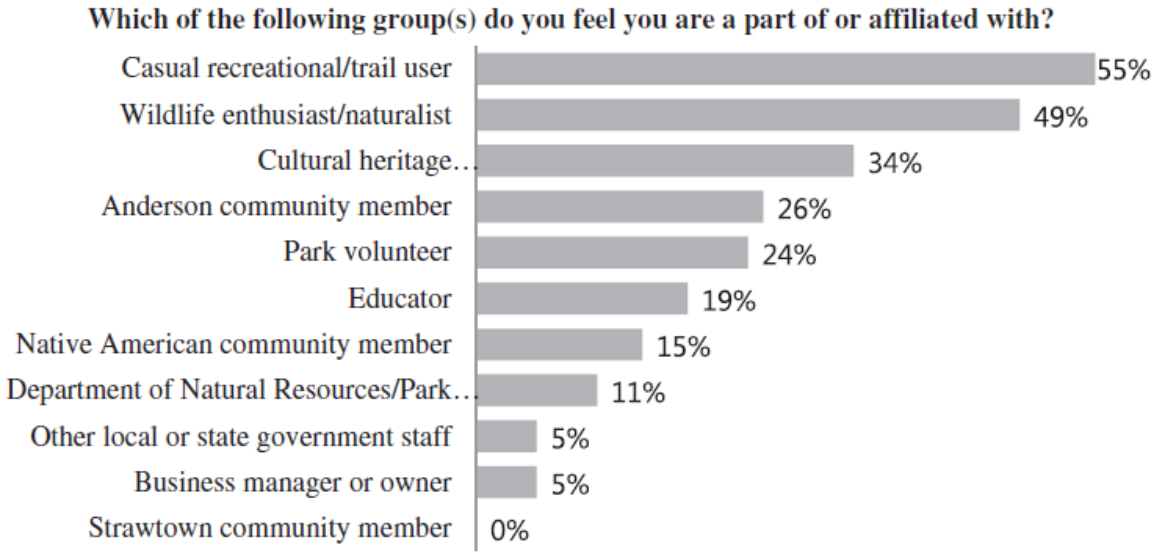

Figure 4. Responses of self-identified affiliations. Respondents could list as many as were applicable.

Group Affiliation		
Group	**Mean Rank**	**N**
Native American community member	1.18	11
Cultural heritage professional/ archaeologist	1.32	25
DNR/Park staff member	1.38	8
Casual recreation/Trail user	2	41
Wildlife enthusiast/naturalist	2	38
Other local or state government staff	2.25	4
Educator	2.29	14
Anderson community member	2.37	19
Park volunteer	2.56	18
Business manager or owner	3.75	4
Strawtown community member	n/a	0

Figure 5. Mean rank for respondent affiliation.

Primary Connection	Familiar with SKP (Mean)	Familiar with MSP (Mean)	N
Casual recreational/trail user	2.33	3.5	6
Wildlife enthusiast/naturalist	3.1	4.45	20
Anderson community member	1.67	5	3
Native American community member	3	3.71	7
Department of Natural Resources/Hamilton Parks staff member	2.67	4.33	3
Park volunteer	1.7	4.71	7
Educator	3.5	4.5	5
Cultural heritage professional/archaeologist	4.23	4.05	22
Strawtown community member	n/a	n/a	0
Business manager or owner	n/a	n/a	0
Other local or state government staff	n/a	n/a	0

Figure 6. Familiarity of stakeholder groups with each site.

Statements with little variance	Responses	Mean
Without them we would lose our past history and our knowledge of the area.	8	1
The cultural and natural heritage are both present.	7	6
The sites have a long history of human activity and diverse natural ecosystems.	16	5.9
The sites' archaeological remains hold untold stories of life in Central Indiana.	20	5.9
They are places to experience the connection between past and present.	8	5.9
They are important to Native American people as sacred sites.	12	5.8
They are public resources made available to the community.	13	5.8
They are places where people can take in the natural beauty of the trails.	11	5.7
The sites blend history and nature.	14	5.6
The sites give us a continuous story about the area and its people.	8	5.6
It is important to preserve the Native American mounds and earthworks.	9	5.6
They are shared spaces for the public	20	1.5

Figure 7. **S**tatements with little variance.

Statement pairs with greater variance									
	Number of responses for each part of spectrum							Responses	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6			
They provide a feeling of leisure, a place to get away.	7	7	4		1		They stop a feeling of leisure, a place to get away.	19	2.0
We can learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.	4	2	2	1			We can't learn from the past and build on it to make our future better.	9	2.0
They are Native American sacred sites.	6	1	1	1		1	They are Native American settlement sites.	10	2.1
They tell the story of many different cultures.	5	1	1		2		They tell the story of one culture.	9	2.2
They provide many opportunities for recreation.	12		13	2	1		They provide few opportunities for recreation.	28	2.3
The sites represent a microcosm of the history of settling North America.	3	2	1			1	The sites represent an atypical picture of the history of settling North America.	7	2.3
They educate people that there are still Native Americans here.	6	2	3			2	They educate people that Native Americans are extinct.	13	2.4
They provide opportunities for people to do common activities.	1	1	1	6	3	4	They provide opportunities for people to do things they don't normally do.	16	4.3
They are places for Native Americans to have stories told for them.	1		2			4	They are places for Native Americans to tell their story.	7	4.4

Figure 8. Statements with greater variance.

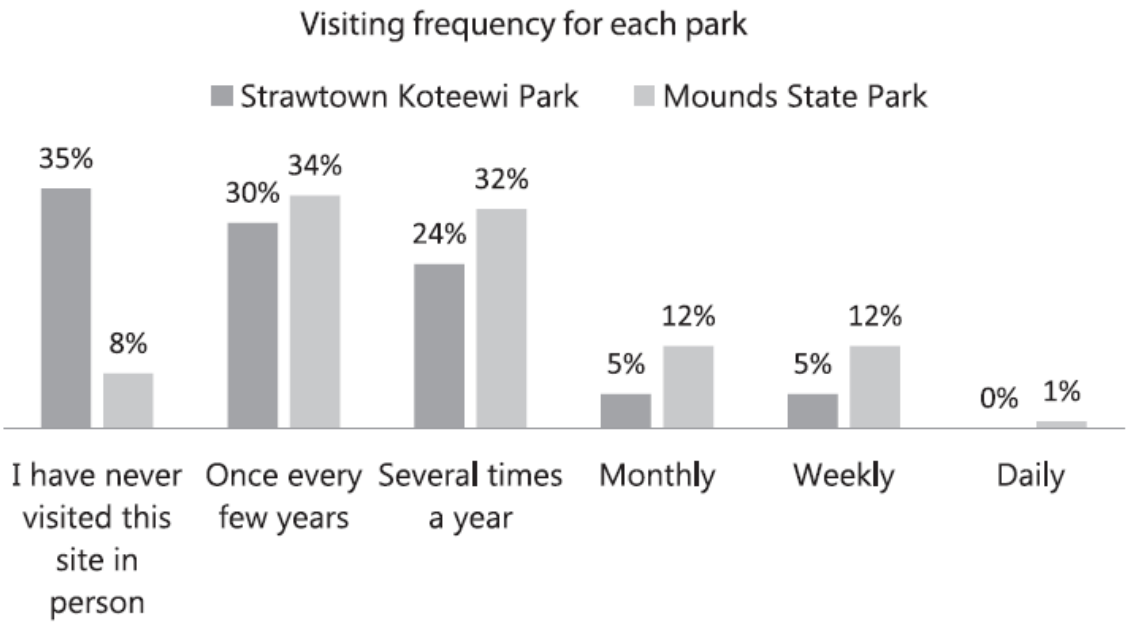

Figure 9. Frequency of park visitation among survey respondents.

	Themes of closest value	Themes of farthest value	Stakeholder groups
Factor 1	Value lies in connection to Native Americans, sacred sites, places of identity for their story, burials, and ritual	Public and shared spaces for leisure and general recreation	Primarily Native American community members, but also educators, cultural heritage and archaeology professionals
Factor 2	Value lies in places of recreation, connection with nature, appreciation of nature's beauty	Places of plurality of meanings, places of learning	Primarily recreational users
Factor 3	Value is knowledge gained through preservation and public education	General recreation	Cultural heritage professionals, archaeologists, and educators
Factor 4	Valued as places of learning	Places for connecting history and nature	Cultural heritage, wildlife enthusiast, Native American
Factor 5	Valued as public, recreational spaces	Connections between past and present and between natural and cultural heritage	Recreational user, volunteers, cultural heritage professionals
Factor 6	Valued for ecology and archaeological study, and for preserving Native American mounds	Public spaces for recreation, multiple meanings	Park staff, cultural heritage professionals

Table 1: Comparison of top 6 factors and their stakeholder groups

Factor correlation matrix						
Component	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	−0.171	0.255*	−0.105	−0.242*	0.291*
2	−0.171	1	−0.03	−0.097	−0.113	−0.034
3	0.255	−0.03	1	−0.073	−0.112	0.156
4	−0.105	−0.097	−0.073	1	0.255*	−0.157
5	−0.242*	−0.113	−0.112	0.255*	1	−0.278*
6	0.291*	−0.034	0.156	−0.157	−0.278*	1

Notes: Factor Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis; Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalisation.
*significant correlation.

Table 2: Strength of factor correlation

How familiar are you with…		
Factor	SKP	MSP
1	3.67	4
2	1.75	4.5
3	4.6	4.4
4	3.25	4.75
5	3.5	4.75
6	4.5	4

Table 3: Mean scores on an endpoint anchored scale of 1-5.